1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is ●587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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601 587 *ñuke* to him. A similar tendency to use the same term for wife and mother appears in the generation above that of *ego*, since maternal uncle's wife and mother are both called *chuchu*.

Levirate and sororate were voluntarily invoked by some informants to explain other aspects of terminology. Thus, it was pointed out that *malle* conveyed the meaning of potential stepfather. Through the levirate, father's brother (*malle*) would become *ego's* father; and through the sororate, the husband of *ego's* mother's sister (*malle*) might likewise become *ego's* father. It follows logically that the offspring of these men, *ego's* parallel cousins, should be regarded as siblings.

In a society where the filial inheritance of wives is a common practice, it is not unexpected to find that the nomenclature occasionally disregards generation lines. The Araucanian system has an additional feature of this kind, since certain relatives in alternate generations employ reciprocal terms for each other. In the case of men (Fig. 2), father's father and son's son are *l·aku*. When *ego* is female (Fig. 3), father's mother and son's daughter are known as *kuku*, mother's mother and daughter's daughter are *chuchu* or *llalla*, and father's sister and brother's daughter are *pal·u*.

601 Another noteworthy aspect of Araucanian kinship terminology is that a number of terms convey sex distinctions at one generation level but do not serve that purpose at another. For example, *l·aku* (Fig. 2) means father's father, and *kuku* refers to father's mother; but when a man applies these terms to the grandchildren's generation there is no distinction of sex. *L· aku* refers to *ego's* brother's son's son or daughter, and *kuku* designates either *ego's* sister's son's son or daughter.

Still another noteworthy feature is the use of specific terms for certain relatives within a general category that is designated by a classificatory term. For instance, a man calls a male relative-in-law in his own generation *ñillan*, but he uses *kenpu* when referring to his own sister's husband.[3]

[3] Other examples, which are not shown because they were reported by only a single informant (J. M. Collío), are: *dea* applied by a man to his own sister, whereas *lamñen* is the classificatory term for sister or female parallel

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
●[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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602 592 [578] The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachũ*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachũ* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of [609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor [587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 572 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 [582] Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 ●587 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[5] Another

[5] The man in house No. 16 also acquired his wife by levirate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned, which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother, who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

Totemism.—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kūde).

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refūy) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter fiuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pelpel, weñáywe, wedawe.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cūga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cùga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Brouwer 1892:81). In the nineteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946: 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurwe*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*mawa*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting [167] up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 591 582 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pale*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*filloa*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 582 ●587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]: 124; Guevara Silva 1913: 40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946: 719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household.

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time.

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bilocate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WifBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WifBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

[582]

Levirate and Sororate

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that several polygyny rather than monogamous natural marriage was practiced.

[587]

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

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Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 [60] [58] 601

action of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the kinship pattern there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Cooke, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Dora Gifford showed that, in the case of the Mbwá, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Mbwá case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship pictures are the following:

In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (in both a male and a female) are *weke* – mother's brother) and *ñaña* (–reciprocal term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-chaw*, "woman" or *-ntu*, "almost, close to,"). This "cousinship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *weke* are always *ñaña*. The children of a *ñaña*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*ñaña*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*kokhaw*; no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*kutut*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *kuwke* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *kuwke* by a man is *Mewpu*, as this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *kuwke* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lowie, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

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10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

The word kliya, my informants said, referred to lineage. Kliya 613
persist in related family groups of the present day. According to non-
Araucanian teachers all children claiming the same lineage will be on
the same side in the event of a quarrel. The same is true when a
quarrel arises among the people. A wake will be attended only by
persons of the lineage of the deceased. "I have asked children at
school why they were not attending a wake—maybe a neighbor had
died—and the answer is always 'We do not belong to him; we are not
related to him.'"

The serorate was institutional but not obligatory, as previously 587
stated. However, a man was not to marry a sister of his wife who was
older than his wife. "These I call qllaudomo; those younger than my
wife, I call kuwan. I may marry all those called kuwan, but I may
not marry one called qllaudomo. I respect every qllaudomo as if she
were my wife's mother. Formerly nearly every man that married
a second or third wife, married the sisters of his first wife; today
this is seldom done."

The levirate, too, was institutional. Informants gave names of
couples so married at present. Reasons for the levirate were to keep
rights to land within the family, and also to provide care and protec-
tion for children. Quoting informants: "Recently a man in Calefquén
(near Collueipe) died and his brother married the widow." "Here in
Alepún three men were married that way within the last 10 years.
Each man was more than 40 years old. Such marriages have very real
value, even today. An unmarried brother has an obligation to marry
his brother's widow; he is often forced to do so by his parents because
they want their son's children cared for by someone who will be kind
to them. Then, too, the man's parents want to keep the property in
the family." "When my brother died," said a married man, "I took
his wife and his four children into my house with my own family.
Their oldest child was only four years old then. The people talked
about me: they said that I had taken a second wife; they poked fun
at me, saying that I was now a cacique. But there is no truth in that,
for I have always respected my brother's wife. She has lived in our
house with her children, and I will let her continue to do so."

Sometimes sons in their late teens object to their mother's marrying
their father's brother. In such cases, if the mother wishes to marry,
either the sons leave home or she does so and marries. It seems that
the man who marries his brother's widow must always be a brother
younger than the deceased husband, namely, one of those spoken of
as fuwen. "My brothers older than I are considered fathers by my
children."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

● 587 614 Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of
[583] polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights
[178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women.
[169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incor-
595 porate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or
[501] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrange-
[596] ments within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called *inan ßomo*, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan ßomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of [583] these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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595 589 968 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the [554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] [594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 418 [613] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[612] [618] [587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

*[i.e.—children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather—Analyst]

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It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage — that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Secondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Mapuche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
587 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the [583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at [262] the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

179 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's [583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either
586 men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to
595 become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will
591 reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare.

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence.

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved.

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally.

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587 595 Filial inheritance of views[1] is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps [167] the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

[1] [possibly "wives" is meant. - Analyst]

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

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587 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking – a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu- [587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche [197] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear – and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

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583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] [431] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [587] [613] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 586 768 [198] In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 [613] Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [167] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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Appendix A

Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo[a]

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa: (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near where *ruka* 2 is situated on Map II. He and his wife died *c.* 1900.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage.

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his oldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to *ruka* 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

[a] Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I.

592 621 [587] [see cat. 116 p. 93 - ANALYST.] [p. 228 is blank] [see cat. 116 p. 33 - ANALYST.]

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually